

## PARTIAL TRANSCRIPTION - ORIGINAL FOLLOWS

There are enclosed translations of two political items which give further information about the origins of Afghanistan's Khalq Party and the first Khalqi-Parchamist split.

The first article appeared on June 24, 1974, in the Arabic language Tariqush Shaab, a publication of the Communist Party of Iraq. The second document, dated March 18, 1978, is an Embassy translation of a statement by "The Committee of the Afghan Communists Abroad," giving that group's views on the Khalq Party and the leadership of its founder, Nur Mohammad Taraki, who is now President and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

# AIRGRAM

780173-0229

REF	REP	AF
✓		
AREA	EUR	PL
NEA	CU	INR
✓		
EM	P	IO
✓		
L	FBO	AID
AGR	COM	FRS
INT	LAB	TAR
TR	KMB	AIR
ARMY	CIA	NAVY
OSD	USIA	NSA

A-79 CONFIDENTIAL

TO : Department of State

INFO : BAGHDAD, ISLAMABAD, MOSCOW, NEW DELHI, TAIPEI, USLO PEKING; CINCPAC, HONOLULU

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS : PINR, PINT, AP, I  
FROM : Amembassy KABUL

SUBJECT : History of Khalq  
the Afghan Revolution

REF

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR  
REVIEWED BY *[Signature]* DATE *2/6/80*  
EDS ☐ or XDS ☐ EXT. DATE  
TS AUTH. DATE REASON(S)  
ENDORSE EXISTING MARKINGS ☐  
DECLASSIFIED ☒ RELEASABLE ☒  
F. CASE ☐  
P. FOR EXEMPT TONS

CINCPAC: FOR POLAD

There are enclosed translations of two political items which give further information about the origins of Afghanistan's Khalq Party and the first Khalq-Parchamist split.

The first article appeared on June 24, 1974, in the Arabic-language Tariqush Shaab, a publication of the Communist Party of Iraq. The second document, dated March 18, 1974, is an Embassy translation of a statement by "The Committee of the Afghan Communists Abroad," giving that group's views on the Khalq Party and the leadership of its founder, Mohammad Taraki, who is now President and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

COMMENT: The date given by the article in the Tariqush Shaab for the formation of the Khalq Party is incorrect. In 1945, Babrak Karmal was only in his late teens. Our information is that the Party held its initial organizational meetings in early 1965 and, as indicated in the article, split into rival factions under Taraki and Babrak two years later.

Enclosures:

1. Translation from Tariqush Shaab UNCLASSIFIED
2. Translation of Warning from the Afghan Communists Abroad UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

FOR DEPT USE ONLY  
☐ Is ☐ Out

FORM 4-82 DS-323

Drafted by: POL:MPA/aa 10-8-78  
Clearance: POL:BAflat/aa; POL:FA/aa; DCM:JBAmstutz

POL-2  
AMB  
DCM  
PAO  
DAO  
BOX  
CHRON

8400128

## TRANSCRIPTION - ORIGINAL FOLLOWS

Both documents testified to the Marxist-Leninist DeMets of the Khalq Party and to the bitterness of the dispute between the factions. These particular pieces reflect a pro-Babrak position and deliberately minimize the contribution of Taraki to the development of the Kalq Party Tarigush Shaab, laying at Taraki's door the responsibility for the schism, is born out by some of the evidence in our files which indicates that Taraki's attempt between 1955 and 1967 to force the pro-Babrak majority on the Central Committee to accept his views led directly to the split.

The statement by "The Committee of Afghan Communists Abroad," while pillorying Taraki, appears to have hinted at a possible compromise with him. The call for "unity among all national and progressive forces" and the declaration that Taraki and his colleagues by their actions "create obstacles to the formation of one sound, working class party" could be seen as indicating a willingness to mend the split. In this light, it is interesting to note that the factions did reunite in June, 1977, less than one year before their successful revolution.

Both documents testified to the Marxist-Leninist beliefs of the Khalq Party and to the bitterness of the dispute between the two factions. These particular pieces reflect a pro-Babrak position, and deliberately minimize the contribution of Taraki to the development of the Khalq Party. The interpretation that the Tariqush Shaib, laying at Taraki's door the responsibility for the schism, is born out by some of the evidence in our files, which indicates that Taraki's attempt between 1965 and 1967 to force the pro-Babrak majority on the Central Committee to accept his views led directly to the split.

The statement by "The Committee of Afghan Communists Abroad," while pillorying Taraki, appears to have hinted at a possible compromise with him. The call for "unity among all national and progressive forces" and the declaration that Taraki and his colleagues by their actions "create obstacles to the formation of one sound, working class party" could be seen as indicating a willingness to mend the split. In this light, it is interesting to note that the factions did reunite in June, 1977, less than one year before their successful revolution.

DUBS  
2 Ad

The daily "Tariqust Shaab", the publication of the Communist Party of Iraq, in issue number 841 of June 23, 1974 wrote (the following) in its column "Conversation with the Readers," under the heading "With Regard to the Khalq Party of Afghanistan."

In our issue No. 740 of 22.2.76 we had published a reply to a letter by our dear reader K.M., asking for information about the Khalq Party. We supplied the information on the basis of documents in our possession at that time. Now we have in hand important new information and we wish to apprise our readers of the facts about the party. At the same time, we wish to apologize to our readers and to the Khalq Party (the working class party of Afghanistan) for publishing incorrect reports in the earlier column.

In Issue No. 740, we stated that the first meeting of the party was held on 1.2.45. In fact, the meeting took place on 1.1.45. Twenty-seven representatives took part in the meeting, from a number of patriotic and democratic elements. The meeting endorsed the manifesto of the party and elected 11 members to the Central Committee.

In our earlier column, we declared that this first meeting elected Nur Mohammad Taraki as Secretary General of the Party. In truth, Mr. Taraki was elected First Secretary and Mr. Babrak Karmal Second Secretary (of the party).

UNCLASSIFIED

Comrade Babrak Karmal was practically the founder of the party and played a major role in keeping the different groups of the party together. As the oldest member of the party, Mr. Taraki was elected First Secretary. His election to this post was definitely attributable to his reputation as a writer.

After the establishment of the party, Mr. Taraki adopted a bureaucratic attitude and imposed divisive policies. In order to attract the allegiance of the members of the party, he tried to keep his ulterior motives hidden. As a result of his policies, the party split into two groups in July, 1967, and Mr. Taraki, along with two members of the Central Committee, left the party. His departure was against the wishes of the Central Committee and majority of the members.

Mr. Taraki also named his splinter group the "Democratic Khalq Party." His party became the center of Maoist activities and faced ideological difficulties. The splinter group, however, ignored its own problems, caused the interference of the American CIA (in Afghanistan), and incurred the pleasure of Afghan Prime Minister Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal. This splinter group could not thwart the activities of the real Proletarian Party, which (after Taraki's departure) held new elections and appointed Comrade Babrak Karmal as its Secretary General. This party,

UNCLASSIFIED

although it faces great difficulties, holds meetings to expose the designs of Noor Mohammad Taraki. Taraki's splinter group started publication of "Khalq" magazine under the editorship of Shafiqi. The "Parcham" magazine, published by the Democratic Khalq Party and edited by Mr. Sulaiman Laeq was banned by the monarchical regime..

UNCLASSIFIED

WARNING

18.3.76

We are fully abreast of the facts concerning world communist parties and working classes in foreign countries. We want to mention that, since the proclamation of the republican regime in Afghanistan, the leaders of the Khalq Party have started a campaign of vilification. Mr. Nor Mohammad Taraki and his colleagues, the leaders of the Khalq Party, have exploited the progressive magazines of India and Iraq to publish material about his personality, incorrectly showing him to be a great Communist leader of Afghanistan. This act by the leaders of the Khalq Party will definitely be resented and condemned.

This fraudulent attitude on the part of the Khalq leadership will not only cause rifts among the young working class of Afghanistan and its political organizations, but will also create obstacles to the formation of one sound, working class party for Afghanistan based on Marxism, Leninism, and Proletarian Internationalism. It will also create political misunderstandings in Afghanistan and in the region as a whole, and will open the way for interference in Afghanistan by such enemies of the people as Reactionaries, Imperialists, and Maoists.

Because of the rift among the leaders of the working class and other matters as well, Mr. Taraki is not recognized as a leader of the Khalq Party of Afghanistan, nor is his party

UNCLASSIFIED



recognized as a Communist Party of Afghanistan on an international level. Had the party been granted recognition, its representatives would have been invited to Communist Party sessions in the region and throughout the world, and it would have been listed among the Communist Parties and working classes of the world. It is high time that the leaders of the Khalq Party desisted from indulging in such provocative actions. They should rather work for unity among the political organizations of the working class in Afghanistan, and for strengthening democracy in that country. They should strive against Imperialism and Reactionaries and work for unity among all national and progressive forces for the achievement of peace, national independence, social progress and socialism.

Official recognition of a labor party on a national or international level does not result merely from a certain number of persons--a few intellectual bourgeois having both rightist and leftist inclinations--fraudulently forming a party.

This incorrect attitude will not only harm the working class of Afghanistan, but will also encourage the enemies of the working class to further exploit it.

If Nur Mohammad Taraki does not mend his ways, he will have to face grave consequences.

THE COMMITTEE OF THE AFGHAN  
COMMUNISTS ABROAD

UNCLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

17  
Kabul A-40

socialism and distributing party publications and pamphlets.

(d) Conforming to the constitution, selecting and spotting outstanding individuals and adjusting them to progressive, honest and true thoughts and beliefs, and feelings of loyalty and responsibility to the people's nation and party.

(e) the circulation and propagation of the Party's objectives, publications, pamphlets <sup>and</sup> in the language of the people of the region.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ The Supreme Authorities of the Provincial  
Urban, Woluswali, and Regional Organizations  
Conferences

Article 26: The highest authority of the Provincial, Urban, Woluswali, and <sup>District</sup> Regional organizations is the conference. Provincial conferences under favorable conditions are invited by their respective committees to take place once every two years and Urban, woluswali, and regional conferences, under favorable conditions, are held annually. Extraordinary conferences are forced on the decision of the superior committee or the majority of members of the relevant organization.

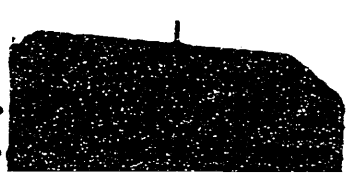
Article 27: The Conferences of the Provincial, Urban, woluswali, and district organizations invite the elected representatives of every organization based on a proportion of those who have been appointed or the recommendation of the organization's committee and the approval of the superior authorities.

Article 28: (lit. 27, a misprint) The competence and duties of the provincial, urban, woluswali, and district conferences consists of:

(a) Hearing, discussing, assessing, and ratifying the report of the relevant committee or supervisory commission.

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED



CONFIDENTIAL

13

Kubul A-60

(b) adopting a decision on the problems and the affairs of the relevant organization and its future course of action.

(c) electing representatives for the conferences of superior organizations and electing members to the relevant organization's Committees and Supervisory Commission.

~~Administrative representation in the relevant~~

Note: A provincial conference elects a representative to the Party Congress.

#### Committees

Article 29: Provincial, urban, voluswali, and district committees are the highest authority of the relevant organizations during the period between the two conferences.

Article 30: The provincial, urban, voluswali, and district committees elect their secretaries and assistant secretaries from among their own members.

Article 31: The provincial, urban, voluswali, and district committees establish branches for organization, propaganda, theory, and financial instruction and any other necessary branches. The officials of these branches are appointed by the members of the Committee. The Secretaries and assistant secretaries of the Committee supervise these branches.

Article 32: The Provincial, urban, voluswali, and district committees form their subordinate organizations, leadership, and new organizations. The committees carry out the decisions of the Conference according to the instructions of superior authorities and they are responsible to the latter.

Article 33: The Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries undertake the duties of carrying out the current business of the relevant committees and are responsible to the Committee. They investigate and supervise the ways and means of executing the decisions of the leadership as well as preparing and correctly putting into practice such decisions.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Kairu A-60<sup>14</sup>

Provincial, Urban, voluswali, and district committees assemble at least once a month.

Supervisory and Control Commission

Article 34: Members of the Supervisory and Control Commission are elected at general meetings of the relevant organizations at the provincial, urban, voluswali, and district level to form a relevant conference from the members of the appropriate Committees. The Supervisory and Control Commissions carry out the duties of the Central Supervisory and Control Commission with, of course, the difference that every Supervisory and Control Commission has competence and responsibility for its own organization's and committee's activities.

Primary Organization of the Party (Constituency or cell)

Article 35: The primary organization of the Party consists of the constituency which is to be considered the essential foundation of the Party. Constituencies are founded by local action and local residence. A Party constituency is formed with the approval of the provincial, urban, voluswali, or district committee or of higher authorities. Depending on the circumstances the maximum number of individuals in a constituency will be determined by higher authorities.

Article 36: Whenever the number of constituencies is increased as a result of local action or residence at the district level, subsidiary committees for local action and residence can, with the agreement of superior authorities, be formed and are subject to the district organization. Members of these committees are elected in public meetings of the constituencies or in meetings of the district representatives.

Article 37: The constituency will meet <sup>at least</sup> twice a month.

At the constituency session, the Secretary and Assistant Secretary will be appointed for a term of one year.

Article 38: The constituency organization will be guided

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

15  
Kubul A-60

in its work by the Party objectives and constitution, will propagate the Party's policies and execute all the decisions and instructions of the superior authorities. The constituency organization forges the link between the leadership and party members, the party with the people, and establishes close relations with the masses. The constituency, mindful of Article 26, has responsibility for:

(a) recruiting new members to the party and party membership and investigating all aspects of the background of party members, strengthening party discipline among all constituency members, distributing party publications and pamphlets, and regulating the education of constituency members.

(b) paying constant attention to the feelings and wishes of the people and reporting them to the superior Party authorities. Paying complete attention to the economic, social, political, and cultural living conditions of the masses and relating them to the Party instructions or struggling for the people's desires.

#### Destiny and Punishment

##### Destiny:

Article 39: Party members through their actions, testimony, loyalty, and sacrifice are destined to complete (achieve) observance of the regulations, discipline, original action, the ethics and the objectives and policies of the Party, and the decisions of the Superior Party organizations and Central Committee for the sake of the goals of the Party.

##### Punishment:

Article 40: Party organizations from top to bottom can, according to circumstances and conditions, take the following legal decisions concerning an infringement of the decisions of superior Party authorities, the aims of the Central Committee, a violation of the objectives and constitution or discipline

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

16

KebuWA60

of the party, a transgression of the party regulations, or not carrying out one's Party duties. Punishments may be the following: Private verbal reprimand or public written reprimand; demotion by one or several ranks of a responsible Party member; change a full member into a probationary member; suspension of Party Membership or expel the member from the party.

Article 41: If a full or probationary member of the Party does not pay his membership dues for three months without presenting an acceptable excuse or does not attend Party meetings on three successive occasions without a reasonable excuse and after a reprimand and warning does not heed Party regulations, he can be expelled from the Party on the recommendation of relevant authorities.

Article 42: Any Party Organization at any level or position can, bearing in mind the difficulty of the struggle, act under Article 41 against any member violating Party regulations and report him to higher authorities. The higher authorities are entitled to specify the punishment appropriate to the infringement. They may also acquit, reduce, or increase the punishment.

Article 43: In cases where a violation of a Party member has seriously damaged the unity, dependence, prestige, or existence of the Party, the guilty individual will be expelled from the Party. Every Party entity is entitled to expel a particular party member, although the ultimate competence lies with the Central Committee or the authorities that are given such discretion by the Central Committee.

Article 44: Expulsion from the Party is considered the maximum and most severe judgement of the Party. All Party organizations when adopting a decision to approve an expulsion will take careful note of all brotherly remarks and observations; witnesses and relevant documents will be carefully studied

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

17

Kubul 2.60

and investigated. The accused's complaints will be given careful attention and his mental inclinations, personal motives, and misuse of position will be seriously studied.

Article 45: A convicted member must be informed of the reasons for conviction and if he thinks the sentence unjust, he may protest and demand a retrial of the relevant authorities or complain to higher authorities.

Article 46: In expelling a full or alternate member of the Central Committee from the Central Committee or the Party, the Plenum of the Central Committee must take the decision, and this decision must be reached by a two-thirds vote of the full membership of the Central Committee.

#### Resignation of Party Membership

Article 47: Whenever a full or probationary member of the Party wishes to resign, he must tender his resignation letter to the relevant organization. Whenever a Party member is the perpetrator of a clear violation of the Party's constitution, regulations, or discipline and wishes to resign, acceptance of his resignation equates to expulsion from the Party.

#### Financial Matters of the Party

Article 48: The Party's funds will come from membership dues, the sale of Party publications and pamphlets, and the contributions of Party members or the people.

Article 49: The extent of full and probationary membership and the inclusion of members in the Party will be determined by the Central Committee.

Article 50: The Central Committee has the right to determine how the Party's funds will be used.

#### Relations of the Party and the Electoral Organizations of the Country

Article 51: Participation in the elections for organizations and electoral organizations is subject to the agreement of

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

17

Kulwa 7-60

and investigated. The accused's complaints will be given careful attention and his mental inclinations, personal motives, and misuse of position will be seriously studied.

Article 45: A convicted member must be informed of the reasons for conviction and if he thinks the sentence unjust, he may protest and demand a retrial of the relevant authorities or complain to higher authorities.

Article 46: In expelling a full or alternate member of the Central Committee from the Central Committee or the Party, the Plenum of the Central Committee must take the decision, and this decision must be reached by a two-thirds vote of the full membership of the Central Committee.

#### Resignation of Party Membership

Article 47: Whenever a full or probationary member of the Party wishes to resign, he must tender his resignation letter to the relevant organization. Whenever a Party member is the perpetrator of a clear violation of the Party's constitution, regulations, or discipline and wishes to resign, acceptance of his resignation equates to expulsion from the Party.

#### Financial Matters of the Party

Article 48: The Party's funds will come from membership dues, the sale of Party publications and pamphlets, and the contributions of Party members or the people.

Article 49: The extent of full and probationary membership and the inclusion of members in the Party will be determined by the Central Committee.

Article 50: The Central Committee has the right to determine how the Party's funds will be used.

#### Relations of the Party and the Electoral Organizations of the Country

Article 51: Participation in the elections for organizations and electoral organizations is subject to the agreement of

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Rec'd 1/10  
11-11

Provincial, Urban, Wollswall, and district committees.

The activities of Party members in electoral organizations  
is subject to the practical (scientific) policies of the  
Party.



6/15/78

03115507030